

# The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 37.

CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 9, 1907.

50c. a Year.

## Be Not Like Dumb, Driven Cattle

BY CLINTON SIMONTON

"You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink." You could sit a laboring man at the banquet table, and he would refuse to eat, drink and be merry, and refuse to act well his part. Dazzled with the splendor of the court, he would see the splendid menu set before him untested, and in wonder that he, only a common earth clod, should be deemed worthy to sit in the presence of kings. Fool! Know ye not that all this splendor of courts, equipage, dress and entertainment, is but the effect of a cause and that you are the cause?

But for you kings had never been born or rulers made. It is you who cause all this glitter and paraphernalia of kings.

It is you who cause rulers to ride upon your already overburdened backs.

It is you who cause this long sitting of parliaments and lords, whose laws are made to hold you down to common clay, while they bask in the sunlit favors of the gods—their duty appointed agents.

It is you who convene congresses and call houses of senates and gathering of courts.

How is it that ye know not the strength, the dignity and power of your position? Ye who carry the keys of heaven and the bars to the gates of hell, know it not?

How is it that ye know not that you alone have the power to make and unmake kings—overthrow principalities and powers? But for you no governments would convene to record achievements; no histories of human events would be written.

Be men, then, and assume the dignity of your being! Allow no man to assume mastery over you. You owe it to yourselves to take the highest position, for which you became an important part of the universe; you owe it to the universe itself, which is incomplete without you.

Nothing was made in the endless system of worlds about you to be a mere dead clod, responding not to the activities of universal harmony. A shipwrecked mariner battling for life amid ocean's stormy breakers is the nobility of human activity, seeking in mortal combat the right to its place in the world of things around him.

You came not here of your own volition, but impelled by forces in the life of others of your species, and so on back to the primal force which hurled worlds into space and brought intelligence out of chaos—and you—a part of it!

How is it? I ask again that ye assume not the dignity of that universal life? How is it that ye battle not as

bravely for your rightful place amid the world's splendor as you mariner fighting amid the turbulent breakers to save himself and to preserve unto himself and others his rightful place in the universe of things of which he himself is as important a part as sun, moon and stars, and none complete without him?

When labor shall assume its rightful place upon the throne of universal liberty the chaos of artificial kings and rulers will cease. Kingdoms and governments will then become a reflex of the universal power of harmony and life, life abounding and free, shall echo through the halls of time a psalm of victory, an anthem of good will on earth and peace to man.

It needs must be that you shall perform your own part, if you would achieve the liberty which by every law of nature is your divine inheritance. And if in a bungling way we have caused class struggles to paralyze our most manly attributes, and in such struggles discover our liberties lost in world chaos, it is our right, yea, it is our duty, to abolish such. Peacefully if we may, forcefully if we must.

Until such struggles are abolished this world will know no peace; until such struggles are abolished will hate intensify and the mark of Cain be branded more deeply upon the brow of each and all. No man can answer "not guilty" whose life is not a noble response to the world's need, whose life is not active in the pursuit of the stocks and bonds of the market place—but in the pursuit of human rights and liberties.

Upon you, then, my fellow worker, I throw the responsibility of this mighty class struggle which is convulsing the world today. You owe it to the world, and to the highest position, for which you became an important part of the universe; you owe it to the universe itself, which is incomplete without you.

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### Voluntary Contributions

O. Beliner, Jamestown, N. Y.	\$0.25
J. Begovich, San Pedro, Cal.	.50
J. T. Bend, South Bend, Wash.	2.00
T. P. Lande, Eureka, Cal.	1.50
R. Clausen, Somers, Mont.	1.00
H. F. Cody, Paraiso, C. Z.	5.00
M. Comagene, Paraiso, C. Z.	3.00
S. Warger, Paraiso, C. Z.	2.00
L. Warfer, Paraiso, C. Z.	2.00
Z. Smith, Paraiso, C. Z.	.50
J. W. Johnson, Paraiso, C. Z.	.50
Mr. Cast, Paraiso, C. Z.	.50
G. D. Fenlon, Paraiso, C. Z.	.50
Mr. H. F. Cody, Paraiso, C. Z.	1.00
J. R. Silveney, Paraiso, C. Z.	.50
Contributor	.50
Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill.	.50
E. Moenels, New York	.50
J. W. Leach, from New England	10.00
Youngstown L. U. No. 196	1.00
Hudson Co. L. U. No. 180	1.50
G. D. Axelson, Minneapolis	1.00
W. M. Duncan, Minneapolis	.25
A. Broadin, Minneapolis	.25
E. Benson, Minneapolis	.25
M. Holmes, Minneapolis	.25
C. Benson, Minneapolis	.25
A. Ortmann, Minneapolis	1.00
B. Burgen, Hartford, Conn.	.50
G. Boecklein, Minneapolis	.50
H. Eicke, Spokane, Wash.	.50
L. Westburg, Spokane, Wash.	1.00
A. Klein, Washington, D. C.	.50
F. Oliver, Round Mountain, Neb.	3.00
Combined Locals of Cincinnati	3.00
M. W. Moore, Goldfield, Nev.	.45
C. Knotek, Hartford, Conn.	.50
A. Burgen, Hartford, Conn.	.25
J. Komuves, Hartford, Conn.	.25
J. Lukaco, Hartford, Conn.	.25
A. Rossmel, Hartford, Conn.	.50
S. Sattlerick, Hartford, Conn.	.50
F. Waronig, Hartford, Conn.	.25
W. Skrocki, Vallejo, Cal.	2.00
E. Besselman, New York	1.00
W. S. Chamberlain, Hot Springs, Ark.	2.00
W. W. U. No. 98	25.00
W. Woodhouse	.25
Total	\$82.45
Previously acknowledged	80.40
Total to date	\$386.85

### Some Observations

Though not at present eligible to membership, still I am giving earnest study and close attention to the Industrial Workers of the World. Organizer Ettor has been doing good work in St. Louis. Before the opening of one of the meetings some labor fakers were overheard to remark that Ettor looked like a "kid." These fakers tried to malign the meeting and the speaker, but before Ettor got through with them he made them look like 15 cents. Many of the rank and file of this meeting "who came to scoff remained to think," especially the striking shoe workers.

In spite of the preamble of the I. W. W. advocating the abolition of capitalism, still immediate and temporary relief will play the greater part in organizing. I suggest the following chart to hang in halls, and in large enough letters to be read across the room:

"We must know these four things: First, Capital is the private property in the tools of production, held by the capitalists to exploit the wage-workers. Second, The capitalists are those owning the tools of production. Third, The wage class being tool-less, it is compulsion for them to work for the capitalist class. Fourth, The existence of these three things is called capitalism. The old unionism only proposes to mend these four things, while the Industrial Workers of the World intend to end them."

This should be hung behind the chairman. While the speaker might be forced to devote his whole attention to mending the ending would be constantly before the audience. The audience would be reading the chart before the speaker appeared. This alone would make it an educator.

I feel confident that the large majority of the wage class have no comprehension of the first three things. How often have I heard speakers repeat the word capitalism when but a few of their audience understood what the term signified. For the audience to understand the principles is certainly an advantage to a speaker.

C. R. DAVIS.

## Historic Review of Shoeworkers' Organizations

By a Bench-Worker in Brockton "Searchlight"

In a recent issue of the "Searchlight" you ask the question, "Should the membership of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union secede from that organization?" and you invite contributions for and against the columns of your paper.

A mere "yes" or "no" is no reply to a question of this importance. Some evidence should be offered to show why one contends for or against a given proposition.

For one, I take the position that it is the main duty of the working men and women who are the rank and file of the Tobin organization to secede from that body and set up in its place an organization which will eventually embrace the entire body of shoe workers on this continent, to be run in the interest of the working class, and not as at present, in the interest of its exploiters.

This question involves more than the average trade unionist has been trained to see. It involves the rearing of a structure on correct lines so that a repetition of the calamities of the past may be avoided and the quarter of a million shoe workers on this continent may be placed that they can move forward, and not backward.

Just now we find the shoe workers divided into three camps. Those who oppose Tobin or the "general office gang"—a sobriquet somewhat inelegant, but highly expressive—those who favor the continuance of Tobin's rule, and those who don't care.

It is with the anti-Tobin I am most concerned. They are the living, vital force of the present. The others are for reaction. While I hate Tobinism with as whole-hearted and holy a hatred as any man in America, I recognize the fact that Tobin is the product of a cause, and a cause which he is a disciple, the pure and simple trade union. And right here let me say that any other man who may occupy Tobin's position will soon become what Tobin now is. I wish it were possible to chisel this truth on the tablets of the minds of the working class—that while it is true that men make movements, it is equally true that movements make men, and the John A. Tobin, whom so many of you are fighting today, has been made, perhaps unmade, by the pure and simple trade union.

It is with Tobinism rather than with Tobin that we should be concerned. To know why it is with us today, we must, if we want to act intelligently in the interest of ourselves and our class, understand the past history of organization among the workers at our trade.

The first organization of any note amongst the shoemakers as they were then was the Journeymen Cordwainers' Association, which was organized in Lynn, following the strike of 1832. The cordwainers were followed by the Knights of St. Crispin in the 60's. The Crispins were the result of the efforts of Newton Daniels, a Milford boot tress, and while it lasted it perhaps came nearer to a complete organization of the shoemakers than any organization which has yet appeared. But it went down and out, torn by internal dissensions, because its rank and file failed to comprehend the great question they had attempted to handle.

After the passing of the Crispins, for many years there was little or no sign of organization amongst the shoemakers. Finally the Knights of Labor appeared on the scene. The Knights of Labor was organized by Uriah Stephens, a Philadelphia tailor, in 1869. Stephens was one of the grandest characters the labor movement has ever known. He organized the once "Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor" in 1869 after making a tour of the Old World. While in London he made the acquaintance of a Jewish tailor, J. G. Eccarius, then secretary of the International Association of Workingmen, at whose head stood Karl Marx. Eccarius, who was extremely familiar with the "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, pointed the way, and, after ten years of hard work, in '69 Stephens launched the K. of L.

Stephens intended that the K. of L. should be ultimately the political as well as the economic expression of the working class, and that it would ultimately overthrow the wage system. But he was doomed to disappointment. In 1881 the order fell into the hands of the Powderly clique, and then, from behind the veil and out of the sanctuaries of the K. of L. emerged that corrupt brood of labor fakers who ultimately brought about its destruction and the death of Stephens. He died broken-hearted when he saw that his life work had been in vain, that the fakers had triumphed for the time being over principle, all because the rank and file were in ignorance of the aims and objects of what might have been the greatest and grandest attempt of the working class along these lines.

It was in '80 that capitalism became aware of the danger that threatened it in the K. of L. At once its henchmen were set at work, and the K. of L. was run into the earth.

All sorts of methods were employed to this end. The order was loaded down with small capitalists, store keepers, betters, bankers and politicians. Any old thing that would do the job. Nothing was barred but rumormongers, lawyers,

the whole Gompers pack, when they know that from the "kikes to the Gulls, from Maine to the Golden Gate," "brotherhood" is manifested in an ever decreasing wage scale, more uneducated children among the workers, and an ever increasing per capita of working class misery with the enjoining of the "scab" on another, thus rendering any attempt which the workers may make for the betterment of their general conditions, and wholly forestalling a united effort on the part of the working class until organized scabbery is overthrown.

"Capital and Labor are brothers," says the whole Gompers pack, when they know that from the "kikes to the Gulls, from Maine to the Golden Gate," "brotherhood" is manifested in an ever decreasing wage scale, more uneducated children among the workers, and an ever increasing per capita of working class misery with the enjoining of the "scab" on another, thus rendering any attempt which the workers may make for the betterment of their general conditions, and wholly forestalling a united effort on the part of the working class until organized scabbery is overthrown.

There is an aristocracy of labor, says this style of "labor organization." Through this "principle" the skilled are ranged against the unskilled workers, created endless jurisdiction fights which are now rendering their vitals. Through it they have not only crept on the door knobs of pure and simple, but on that of the working class, who must suffer for others' sins. All this they have done that the "job" may be kept intact and that meat tickets may be forthcoming for its disciples at the expense of an outraged working class.

Whatever else such a conglomeration of idiosyncrasy and crime may be, one thing is certain, it is not a labor organization, no more so than the Russian Cossacks, who outrage the Russian workers that the "Little Father" may ride on their backs with all that thereby hangs.

It is no more a labor organization than the Irish constabulary, who enforce the robber rule of an alien thief with his crowbar brigades, and the consequent misery which his continued presence has enforced on that "Emerald Gem of the Western World." It is no more a labor union than the police or the military of the United States, who protect and assist capitalism in the robbery of the workers, even to the murder of those who may have the temerity to object to their further robbery.

It is like all of these. It is made up of workingmen, but it is offered by the lieutenants of capitalism and run in the interest of the capitalist class. For all these reasons I say secede by all means as such an organization can only breed Tobins, Gompers, Jim Farleys, McPartlands and Harry Orchards. These gentry are not like Topsy, accidental in their birth, they are the product of a cause and that cause is the pure and simple organization of labor.

With the sole exception of the K. of L. all other organizations in our trade have been "Job Trusts" built on false principles. Hence they went on the rocks, as a lie cannot endure.

Someone will say, "Did not the L. P. U. win its battles back in the 80's?" I will answer, Did not some other part of the trade have to suffer whenever they did win? In other words, did not the boss naturally cut down the wages

## THE EAST AND THE WEST

BY B. H. WILLIAMS

In Secretary W. E. Trautmann's "Greetings to New England Workers," published in The Bulletin of November 2, the following noteworthy passage is found:

"Not to the west should you look for the men and women who will sound the tocsin of industrial liberty. The eye of the westerner is turned to the land where once was rocked the cradle of liberty."

Often in my thirty years' travels through the western states, from Butte around and along the Pacific coast to southern Arizona, and back again, I have felt the force of the above observation impressed me. "The west will have to wait for the east" are the words I have used on more than one occasion in reference to the industrial situation and the labor movement. Although I had not then seen the east, and could only judge of the situation here from second-hand knowledge, the conclusion was forced upon me by a generalist industry of the geographical and industrial conditions of the west.

In Arizona, for example, I found a territory nearly three times the size of Ohio with a population of less than 100,000 people. In Arizona has more than 15,000 people. So sparse are settlements in that territory that one may travel for half a day on the train through a desert of sage brush and cacti, with no settlements other than water tanks at long intervals. In California one-third of the two million people of that state dwell within a radius of a few miles around San Francisco bay.

Similar observations are made by the traveler everywhere throughout the Pacific and Rocky Mountain states. The people are not there, the industries of the west are as yet in the embryonic stage of development only. Furthermore, the workers in the west are constantly on the move. Lumber jacks travel from California to Alaska in a single season; miners, in Montana one month, may be found in Nevada or Arizona the next; while in the statistics of migration inform us that less than one-fourth of the people ever move outside of the counties in which they were born. It is safe to say that in the west that proportion is more than three-fourths.

In view of these conditions it will be seen the basis for industrial organization on the comprehensive plan of the I. W. W. is yet to be wrought out by industrial evolution in the west. The revolutionary spirit is there; a powerful sentiment for industrial unionism has been created by constant and far-reaching agitation among a wide-awake body of workers. Thousands of those western workers are no doubt ready to step out of the frame of capitalist industry into the free society of the co-operative commonwealth. But "the west must wait for the east." The eye of the westerner is turned towards his brothers east of the Mississippi, who must force

### Williams in Pennsylvania

Executive Board Member B. H. Williams spent the month of October in Ohio stopping at the time at Columbus, Cincinnati and Hamilton. He is now in Pittsburg, Pa., having arrived there Nov. 2. Williams also has appointments in Virginia, at Newport News, Norfolk, Portsmouth and Richmond, which will be filled as soon as possible. Other sections of the east waiting Williams' services are urged to make arrangements at once by communicating with General Secretary W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago.

It is said that the reason why Roosevelt takes so much exercise is to prevent a preponderance in the job. Nothing was barred but rumormongers, lawyers,

### Strike Declared Off

Under date of October 30, Organizer Walsh writes as follows from Vancouver, B. C. The threat of the life of others of your species, and so on back to the primal force which hurled worlds into space and brought intelligence out of chaos—and you—a part of it!

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bravely for your rightful place amid the world's splendor as you mariner fighting amid the turbulent breakers to save himself and to preserve unto himself and others his rightful place in the universe of things of which he himself is as important a part as sun, moon and stars, and none complete without him?

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ment, I. W. W., extend our sincere and heartfelt thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Walsh for the good work they have done in our behalf; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be sent to the "Miners' Magazine," the "Nevada Workman," The Industrial Union Bulletin and the "None Industrial Worker" for publication.

(Signed) E. T. Hickey,  
T. Smith,  
Harry Sheare,  
Committee.

**What the Strike Teaches**

The progress of the telegraphers' strike has justified the contentions of industrial unionists. Once again it has been demonstrated that craft unionism is unable to cope with the almost perfect class organization of the capitalists. Although the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has been able to call out a majority of its members; although the railroad telegraphers, through their organization, have assisted the strikers in every manner possible within the limitations of craft unionism; although other labor organizations throughout the country have responded to the call for financial aid; yet the issue of the strike, if not disastrous for the Commercial, is, at any rate, dubious. The strikers have shown a loyalty to their organization and principles which is admirable. They have evinced an awakening class-consciousness which needs only the training of real industrial unionism to enable them to achieve inevitable victory in future conflicts—Nevada Workman.

**Goldfield Miners Level Headed**

At a regular meeting of the Goldfield Miners' Union, says the "Nevada Workman" of Oct. 26, the resolutions of the Tonopah Miners' Union declaring for affiliation with the Industrial Workers of the World, were endorsed and the resolutions ordered published in the "Miners' Magazine." The Tonopah resolutions were printed in The Bulletin of Oct. 26 and were unequivocally in favor of affiliation with the I. W. W., of which Wm. E. Trautmann and Vincent St. John are secretaries.

**General Headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World at 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.**

The resolutions of thanks to Dollie Reid Walsh and J. H. Walsh were adopted by Local No. 240, W. F. of M., Nome, Alaska:

Whereas, Commodore Dollie Reid Walsh and J. H. Walsh (organizers of the I. W. W.), to whom Local No. 240, W. F. of M., entrusted the launching of the "None Industrial Worker," and who by their tireless energy were mainly instrumental in making the paper the success it has been since its inception; and

Whereas, Mr. and Mrs. Walsh have again shown their trustworthiness and loyalty to the working class movement by thoroughly attending to the minutest detail of the commissions given them upon their arrival in Seattle in connection with our official organ; therefore, we

Resolved, That we, the members of Local No. 240, W. F. of M., Mining Department,

(Continued on fourth page)

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 9, 1907

To the establishment of the workers' republic, or the Co-operation Commonwealth, no consideration will be as important as the self-imposed discipline of the Industrial Union. On that day when the workers are called upon to assume charge of the mills, mines, factories, railways—the means of production—and supplant the capitalist mode of production for profit by the Social mode of production for use, there will come to them the task which they alone will be competent to meet. On that day the workers will face the consummation of their ideals and the readjustment of industry in accordance with revolutionary requirements for which the Industrial Union has prepared them. Upon them will depend the one socially important task of continuing the processes of production and the maintenance of the discipline in all departments which will be necessary to the most effective results.

## HOW DEAD THE I. W. W. IS

The S. D. Herald of Milwaukee is still practicing on its readers' credulity and handing out the dirty lie that the I. W. W. is dead. Listen to the yelping of the coyotes:

"As to trade unionism, the attempt to set up an opposition organization to the existing labor federation in this country, by using the principle of industrial organization as a means to that end, has now about died the death that it was bound to die, and time will doubtless heal over the injuries it did to the propaganda of Socialism in the eyes of trade unionists."

It assumes that the readers of the Herald require no proof of its statements, that they are unsuspecting and easily imposed upon, that they have no minds of their own and accept on faith whatever dope is compounded to meet their simple requirements. It further assumes that a lie will go as well as the truth with its readers, and so it serves out a lie every time it makes reference to the I. W. W.

If the Herald has a correct line on the intellectual and moral limitations of its constituency, then it becomes a matter of congratulation that the constituency itself also is numerically quite limited. It would be a calamitous state of affairs if any considerable body of workers could be taken in and permanently misled and deceived by a couple of pen-pushers so entirely reckless as Berger and Heath. Work that is done for the express purpose of deceiving the workers within the limits of Milwaukee, as that of Berger and Heath invariably is, will meet with its quietus after awhile, when a few of the honest rank and file in that city understand how they have been cheated out of the truth and imposed upon by a pair of rank political fakirs.

The I. W. W. has today, after a little more than two years, a membership equal to that of the political party to which Berger and Heath are reluctantly loyal.

The I. W. W. has strong organizations in every State and Territory of the Union, where that party, after seven years' effort, has succeeded in getting together half a dozen voters to form a local branch, and besides that overlaps boundaries and has organized in territory where that party is unknown.

The I. W. W. has accomplished the organization of a body of metal-liferous miners, nearly 3,000 strong, in the far-off territory of Alaska since the third annual convention which adjourned September 24.

The I. W. W. issued during the month of October, just passed, an average of one local union charter per day.

The I. W. W. started this weekly paper March 2, 1907; it has been regularly published 36 weeks and has a subscription list of 7,000, a number probably equal to the actual list of the S. D. Herald after eight years of political compromise and editorial prostitution in Milwaukee.

The I. W. W. carried the mission of Industrial Unionism this year to the International Labor and Socialist Congress at Regensburg, being re-elected a delegate chosen by referendum vote, and in that congress forced recognition of the paramount importance of the economic organization, with the result that the Congress itself stands almost on I. W. W. ground.

The I. W. W. has the satisfaction of knowing that in Great Britain and Australia its propaganda has brought active organizations into existence and that the workers throughout the world are eagerly seeking information for their future guidance in the class struggle.

The true reason why the S. D. Herald lies about the I. W. W., and which it does not dare to bring into the limelight, is that certain former "leaders" in this movement who were identified with it in a more or less active way up to the second annual convention, are now dead or have lapsed into innocuous desuetude. That these "leaders" are no longer active is, to the distinctively bourgeois minds of Berger and Heath, proof positive that there is no I. W. W. because the "leaders" have deserted it. A movement without "leaders" to the Milwaukee advocates of a spurious Socialism is unthinkable. Berger's ruminations always did run along the lines of an inordinate vanity as to his individual value to the Socialist movement in America. It has always been a problem with him how in hell it could get along at all without his "leadership." And so when the rank and file of the I. W. W. undertake to conduct the organization, and succeed in it, without their former "leaders" it is a state of affairs as being so entirely impossible that they bark at honest men, "the I. W. W. is dead," or has "about died," or is "bound to die."

No, the I. W. W. is not dead, nor is it "about died," nor is it going to meet the wishes of the gnomes of Milwaukee. The I. W. W. is the living progenitor of a flourishing offspring.

## A SLANDER FROM DENVER

The Miners' Magazine of October 31st, printed the resolutions adopted by Tonopah Miners' Union, and subsequently endorsed without a dissenting vote by Goldfield Miners' Union (see communication elsewhere in this paper), supporting the Industrial Workers of the World, and made the following characteristic comment:

"The Industrial Workers of the World has been torn to fragments by internal dissension by some of the very men who have signed the appeal that has been sent out to the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, clamoring for funds to carry on the work of organization. The I. W. W., as at present constituted, can do no organizing."

"The I. W. W. is on the rocks, and is doomed to destruction. A number of the men who were selected as organizers for that defunct organization were better qualified to disrupt than to unite."

"The results speak for themselves. Men who HURL EPITHETS AND COVER WITH SLANDER, every man who refuses to subordinate his mentality to frenzied madness, can never bring about the solidarity of labor. The I. W. W. is but a reminiscence. It is dead, and the sooner we forget the stench the better."

The American labor movement is without a parallel to the dastardly attacks that have been made upon the I. W. W. by the past-master in the art of vile epithet and slander who edits the Miners' Magazine. As the distinguished mouthpiece of a cotillion of reactionaries to the Socialist cause, it has earned undying fame as one who brought nothing to the movement but a venomous vocabulary and a capacity for slander and mendacity previously unknown. If the Co-operative Commonwealth depended for its realization upon any contribution of this recognized master of billingsgate, who now plays the role of a political pharisee by charging other men with attempting to do what he is so singularly proficient in, the outlook for the working class would be black as night, and the prospect for industrial freedom poor indeed. If any of the working class anywhere imagine that such "leadership" can bring about their emancipation, then it is obvious that the most important duty resting upon every decent and honest man is to undeceive them. And this we shall endeavor to do, regardless of who the individual is. The most stupendous and inexplicable imposition has already developed, or is developing, in the West, with its head center at Denver. We intend to go after it and drag it into the limelight. We are not in the I. W. W. to hurl epithets or to slander anybody. But we shall defend ourselves against the slanderous and mendacious attacks of our enemies in the ranks of the W. F. M. as against any other set of men to whom the industrial revolution and an organization avowedly committed to its accomplishment is repellant.

## A Fanatic's Outburst

The quotation below is the closing part of a report made by Teofilo Petriola to the W. F. M. convention. Instead of gathering the blood of his heart in the palm of his hand, he seems to have gathered the shekels of those he loved:

"Be it understood that I do not look for a reappointment, although I should like to remain on the Mesaba range. All these men I gathered under the great banner of the Western Federation of Miners love me and I love them. I want to be here at the first fight, which seems not far away. I have a certain remuneration for my work; they have nothing as yet through the organization. I want to see them get something, and if in this my sacrifice is necessary, I am ready to gather the blood of my heart in the palm of my hand and throw it away to warm my friends in the struggle for the recognition of their rights."

## "Take and Hold Song Book"

A collection of songs of freedom printed by J. E. C. Donnelly, 202 East 48th street, New York, price 5 cents, is well calculated to arouse enthusiasm among Industrial Unionists who are musically inclined and understand the importance of the revolutionary sentiments in a musical setting. This is called the "Take and Hold Song Book," and among the prominent contributors is James Connolly, known as an active and capable exponent of Industrial Union principles.

From the collection we select the song by Fellow Worker Connolly entitled "Take and Hold."

O, hear ye the watchword of Labor,  
That no more to ye shall we free,  
That no more to ye shall we free,  
Must Labor bend suppliant knee.

That we on whose shoulders are borne  
The pomp and the pride of the great,  
Whose toil they feign with their  
Should meet it at last with our hate.

Chorus.

Then send it afar on the breeze, boys,  
That watchword, the grandest we've known,  
That Labor must rise from its knees, boys,  
And take the broad earth as its own.

Aye, we who oft won by our valor,  
Empire for our rulers and lords,  
Yet knelt in abasement and squalor  
To that we had made by our swords.

Now valor with worth will be blend-  
When, answering Labor's command,  
We arise from the earth and ascending  
To manhood, for Freedom take stand.

Chorus.

Then out from the field and the city,  
From workshop, from mill and from mine,  
Despising their wrath and their pity,  
We workers are moving in line.

To answer the watchword and token  
That Labor gives forth as its own,  
Nor pause till our fetters we've broken,  
And conquered the spoiler and drone.

Chorus.

Many of the railroad ticket offices in Chicago are offering especially cheap rates to Bisbee, Ariz. Bisbee is not a summer resort, neither is it a very attractive place for sightseers. It offers no special attraction for business men, and it is a very poor place for capitalists to live. There is no great national exposition taking place there that would warrant cheap rates. Then why all these large placards in front of the ticket offices offering "very low rates to Bisbee." Oh, yes! There is a strike on between the miners of the Western Federation and the mine owners of Bisbee. The railroad master is striking in sympathy with the mine-owner master. He is going to overstock the labor market of Bisbee with slaves, who will have to work or starve. Take the hint, gentlemen, industrially; read up; don't gab on each other with your craft unions. The capitalists don't scab on each other; why do you? This office has tons of literature in every language, showing the workers how they can get a better price list in this Bulletin and order some. It will do more good soaking into your brain than being piled up here. Don't fail to order today.

Taking its cue from that eminent "industrial" unionist, O'Neill, of the "Miners' Magazine," the "Godab Weekly," of Salt Lake City, says "the I. W. W. is an invention conceived by loafers to avoid work and to live on the sweat-drops of honest toil." Further, it says, "was started by men who never did an honest day's work if they could avoid it." How proud the men who started it must be of their progeny. If "Goodwin's" ignorance on other matters equals that displayed as to the I. W. W. (and it probably does), Salt Lake shelters the scurviest slanders in seven states and is sorely in need of fumigation.

The "Miners' Magazine" says that "Industrial unionism is bound to win, and when the smoke of battle has passed away the brewery workers will be pointed out as among the pioneers." Still harping on the brewers. In the meantime it is a noticeable fact that many who talk Industrial Unionism in Denverward are not found in the smoke.

Have you read "The Labor Spy" yet? We want you to do so. It is the greatest exposure of Pinksterism ever written, and contains a lot of startling information that you should have. We will send you a copy for 18 cents in postage stamps. Put nine 2-cent stamps on the envelope and we will send you a 230-page book that will interest you from start to finish.

The banks are controlled by the government in the interest of depositors. In the light of the recent financial injury to the extent that what the country needs is more government control—that is, more humbug.

## GOLDFIELD MINERS UNION FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The following letter from Fellow previously known two factions in that Worker C. H. McKinnon, president of organization; and

"Whereas, We have voted by referendum, of Goldfield, Nev., was received at Goldfield Miners' Union No. 220, W. F. M., of Goldfield, Nev., and have pledged ourselves to assist in their organization work by paying the regularly stipulated per capita tax of that organization; and

"Goldfield, Nev., Oct. 28, 1907.  
"W. E. Trautmann,  
Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir and Bro.—The accompanying resolutions were adopted by Goldfield Miners' Union No. 220, W. F. M., and so divide the working class still more than they are divided, and also spend time and money by so doing; and

"Whereas, We believe that every true organization of the I. W. W. is in duty bound to do all in his power to promote industrial unionism and assist the I. W. W. in maintaining organizers in the field and in encouraging the struggle for industrial freedom; and, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we hereby appeal as individuals and as an organization to the Executive Board and to every local of the I. W. W. to pay to the I. W. W. the per capita tax that is due on the basis of that organization, and by so doing assist in promoting the only true unionism for the working class, that advanced by our own organization, the Western Federation of Miners, and our own leaders, William D. Haywood and stronger and more progressive of the Charles Meyer."

## Commonwealth Will Be Industrial, Not Political

Socialism means revolution. It means a change from within; a turning inside out and downside up. It cannot be contemplated as existing within the scope of capitalist society, which is conserved by the political state. The persistence of the political state is but one of the incidental means to the end in view. Socialism could not exist in the capitalist state. Socialism contemplates a purely industrial administration, in which police powers are but subsidiary and incidental, and they will be vested in the industrial administration, and not in a political one. State lines, geographical boundaries, can have no significance in the Industrial Republic—the Socialist Commonwealth.

The nation will be administered through industrial departments federated industrially and not politically. There will be no senator from Texas in a national political congress, but instead a division delegate from given industry, and this body of delegates will be the National Executive Council of Industries. This may not be the name given that body, but it gives the idea.

To achieve the Industrial Republic—the goal of the Socialist efforts—two things are necessary. They are, to use the ballot for the capture of the political powers to the end that these powers shall be abolished, and a coherent, united, and fearless industrial organization of the proletariat—the workers dispossessed of all save their power to labor—to enforce the fiat and purpose of the Socialist political ballot.

To accomplish Socialism there will be no room for compromise with political agitation. The working class must in the meantime be organized along the lines of what the socialist republic shall be. Organized upon purely craft lines, the workers never will be prepared to meet the coming industrial revolution. The concentration of capital and its federalized strength has rendered such unionism obsolete. The real fighting force on the economic field, prepared to take and hold the means of production for the workers only, when the time shall have come for the universal lockout of the master class, is yet to be universally organized. Such form of organization is in the atmosphere. It is already in embryo, and the powers of capitalism are uniting in the effort to smother the infant. But the day of parturition has already passed. The child is the logical product of economic evolution, and the greater the effort made to prevent its birth, the more rapidly it will gain strength. The limits of this article do not admit of extended explanation, but a postal card directed to W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, will bring the "None Industrial Worker" to the attention of the editor who desires to investigate. And Socialist literature will have more and more to say concerning industrial unionism from now on—Ward H. Mills, in "American Manhood."

## News From Fairbanks

The "None Industrial Worker" brings the following news items showing the progress of the I. W. W. at Fairbanks, Alaska:

The carpenters' union of Fairbanks is rapidly gaining strength. It is only a matter of time when all the carpenters in the city will belong to the union if the present indications are not misleading. One member of the union is also a member of the city council. Fairbanks is now erecting a fine \$20,000 school building, which will be a credit to the city. About twenty men are employed on the building. They are being paid union wages and are working an eight-hour day. This is what I. W. W. organization is doing for the carpenters of Fairbanks.

Another monument to our splendid city is the new wireless telegraph station, which is now nearing completion. If it proves a success the sending of telegraphic messages will be assured at all times of the year, since the troublesome land lines will then be unnecessary. The Fairbanks "Daily News" has apologized for calling the secretary of the Fairbanks miners union a war correspondent for the newspapers, because he has furnished the "None Industrial Worker" with the reliable news from this district.

Numerous extraordinary Tanana exponents of industrial slavery are sending a pilgrimage to the outside to find more traps for unwary laborers to come in here and act as miners in the Tanana district for longer hours and lower wages. We shall do all in our power to help the Tanana workers to befool the working class a dismal failure.

The union miners from adjacent creeks are for the present sojourning in Fairbanks a week or two preparatory to heading the winter down the Tanana. They are all healthy and well dressed.

## "What Fools These Mortals Be"

Editor INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN:

In the *Miners' Magazine* of October 31st Mr. C. E. Mahoney, acting president of the Western Federation of Miners, signs an announcement, to-wit: that the proposed convention of the Western Federation of Miners, United Brewery Workers and other unions has been postponed to January, 1908, by the "request of the United Brewery Workers." Mr. Mahoney this time forgets to mention the United Mine Workers of America, which organization was originally announced among those to be invited.

If Mr. C. E. Mahoney is not an outright falsifier, he is, to say the least, a bad strategist. After this announcement in the *Miners' Magazine* the Brewery Workers, if they have ever any intention of becoming a part of that proposed "new" industrial union, which I know they never had, will now surely be compelled to repudiate Mr. Mahoney and his cohorts.

Above all, nothing of such an arrangement is known to the rank and file of the United Brewery Workers of America, and their constitution provides that all the transactions of the general executive board must be recorded and published in full in the *Brewer Zeitung*.

Nothing appears in the minutes of the last session of the G. E. B. of the United Brewery Workers to indicate that the organization would take part in the proposed convention, nor is anything contained therein whereby Mr. Mahoney has grounds to announce that at the request of the United Brewery Workers that proposed convention has been postponed.

But this is what the United Brewery Workers have done: They have appealed against the revocation of their charter by the American Federation of Labor. They have, at the solicitation of Mr. Valentine, one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, elected a delegation of three, Messrs. Ed. F. Ward, Jos. Froehlich and Louis Kemper, to represent them at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held at Norfolk, Va. Moreover, they have sent circulars to all unions connected with the A. F. of L., asking their support in the plea for reinstatement, and many of these international unions have instructed the delegates accordingly.

The International Cigar Makers' Union, by referendum vote, instructed their delegates, among them Mr. Sam Lompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to vote for reinstatement of the United Brewery Workers, with jurisdiction over all branches in the industry. And the United Brewery Workers will be reinstated into the A. F. of L.

These being the facts, does Mr. Mahoney think the United Brewery Workers will support a war against the pretax by their enemies and give another pretext for the revocation of their charter on other grounds than the "jurisdiction claims," by announcing beforehand that they will take part in a convention for the purpose of an "Industrial Union," which in itself must be a rival to the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. Mahoney may be a good juggler with stocks of a mining company of a matter of a few hundred shares, but he should not think that everybody is a fool because Mr. Mahoney says so. What a surprise will be in store for Mr. Mahoney and his supporters when the three delegates of the United Brewery Workers to the American Federation of Labor will see the necessity of repudiating that Mahoney January, 1908, convention, in order to be reinstated in the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Mahoney and his partners, John O'Neill and Kirwan, may hoodwink a few who do not keep track of affairs in the labor movement, but the members of the United Brewery Workers are on to the game. They will not become a part of any proposed organization, because of Mr. Mahoney's go-go-go eyes. Mr. Mahoney speaks for the United Brewery Workers when they themselves are not ready to announce their intentions.

Mr. Mahoney, by the way, thinks that the name of the Western Federation of Miners would be quite sufficient to lure the brewery workers into the dragnet. But the boss brewers have something to say. They are compelled to center their resources in a warfare against the prohibition evil. They need the aid of the American Federation of Labor. They always liked the harmony of interests prevailing between them and the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Schumm, a rich boss brewer of Brooklyn, friend of the administration of the A. F. of L., member of the National Civic Federation and executive board member of the United States Brewers' Association, has given assistance that the employing brewers throughout the United

States will embody in all contracts to be negotiated next spring with the United Brewery Workers, the clause that all workers in the breweries must be members of the American Federation of Labor unions, and when the United Brewery Workers are not reinstated in the American Federation of Labor, we may expect a jolly, merry war in several cities, the employing brewers upholding the American Federation of Labor and organizing the strike-breakers into unions chartered by the A. F. of L., as they did in New Orleans.

Aware of all the dangers confronting them, it must indeed sound queer to hear Mr. Mahoney announce for the United Brewery Workers that the proposed convention was postponed at their request. Does Mahoney think the "damned Dutchmen" are all fools? Will nix mit Deiner Fake-Konvention!

The brewery workers will then go back into the A. F. of L. than be faked by the Mahoneys, Kirwans and O'Neils. The true industrial unionist will work for the real I. W. W., and after the next big clash between the United Brewery Workers and the United States Brewers' Association they will all be ready for the true revolutionary organization of the working class.

BREWERY WORKERS.

## Industrial Union HANDBOOK

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ALMOST

## on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relations of the Economic Organization to the Political Party.

"To emancipate the proletariat completely from the shackles of industrial, political and economic servitude, the political and the economic struggle are also necessary."

BUT

"The Union will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for emancipation of the workers, unless a thorough Socialist spirit inspires their policy."

## ADD TO THE ABOVE

That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organization of the Working Class, is of primary importance and must supersede the political state, and the Workers' Republic is declared and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TRIUMPHANT.

## I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

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W. E. TRAUTMANN

Room 212 Bush Temple

CHICAGO ILLINOIS

The Industrial Workers of the World has but one general office in Chicago, located in the Bush Temple, North Clark Street; it has no connection with any claimants to the name and repudiates any and all claims made by them.



## GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

## Summary of Transactions as Recorded in Correspondence and Motions Submitted to the Members of the General Executive Board.

(CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK)

The general secretary-treasurer sent out copies of by-laws received from the Textile Workers' Union of New Bedford, Mass., and also of the Bakery Workers' Union of Wichita, Kansas, to the members of the G. E. B., asking them to go over them and state any objection that they may have against endorsing and approving the by-laws of these two respective locals.

All members of the G. E. B. voted that Miss Ester Nieminen be granted voluntary organizers' credentials, and that she also be allowed actual expenses, as suggested by Fellow Worker J. A. Jones.

Ex-Board Member Yates voted that Thompson be sent immediately into the New England states on account of the developments in the shoe industry. He stated also that there are several strong I. W. W. supporters among the shoe workers in the New England states. On the Markley affair he voted that something should be done at once, but as there is no provision in the constitution that would cover such a particular case, he was in favor of the G. E. B. taking immediate steps to make a rule that the Youngtown local either repudiate Markley's work or stand suspended, and insisted that the G. E. B. make some kind of a rule for the guidance of subordinate bodies to prevent this kind of thing cropping up again. He approved also of the by-laws of the Textile Workers' Union of New Bedford and of the Bakery Workers' Union of Wichita, with the following comment:

"On the by-laws of Bakery Workers' Union of Wichita. There is one thing that I would like to know, and that is, where are they going to get \$7 and \$10 strike benefit per week, as provided in these by-laws? I think they are going to get it too high anyway, they will not be able to pay it. I mean the by-law. On the by-laws of New Bedford, I notice one omission, which should read 'strike benefit \$4 per week or equivalent.' On the matter of assessment he approved, but was opposed to the assessment unless it is absolutely necessary. He stated that he would rather be in favor of raising the per capita tax, and feel (although it is rather late in the day now to express an opinion) something ought to have been done at the convention in reference to this matter."

Ex-Board Member Katz voted "No" on the assessment. He claims that the locals would pay the per capita tax which they owe everything would be all right. He writes as follows: "When you say that the sending of delegates depleted the treasuries of the locals, you are without a doubt the cause, 'Paterson' will make good, don't fear." He stated that the appeal for voluntary contributions should be repeated, and the locals in general should be urged to step up. On the suggestion of Local No. 178 relative to organizing the loggers in the camps, Katz voted "No." On the suggestion submitted by the general secretary-treasurer that the answers to the G. E. B. members be put in The Bulletin, he wrote that he is in favor of it, and so are all the other members of the G. E. B. He also voted for the approval of the by-laws of the Textile Workers' Union of New Bedford and of the Bakery Workers' Union of Wichita. He stated that if the locals in the New England states have raised enough money to sustain Thompson he should go there. He voted on publishing and sending out the appeal for the Lumber Handlers' Local in Vancouver, and left the matter of compensation for the Finnish woman organizer in Minnesota to the judgment of the general secretary and general organizer.

In the matter of Markley, Katz asserts that that is a matter of "sore heads," and wanted to know the date of the "Daily People" where Markley had used that paper against the I. W. W. He also voted in favor of granting the charters to the locals of miners in Alaska.

Ex-Board Member Heslewood voted on the assessment, but stated that the assessment was too small to meet the emergency.

Ex-Board Member Williams (then in Cincinnati) wrote under date of October 19th, that he had approved of the request that Miss Ester Nieminen be put out without salary; that that request was modest enough, and should be complied with. His comments on the situation in Minnesota are as follows: "Owing to the conditions at the present time on the Minnesota range, we should be careful with our funds in that direction. The reaction there will be doubtfully very strong, and it will be some time before the I. W. W. can deal successfully with the situation. The local men should be encouraged to work up the field."

The comments of Williams on the Tanana district affair are as follows: "By all means forward charters, and also instructions to Starkenberg. I would also suggest that if Starkenberg can reach the different localities in Alaska which are ripe for organization that he be allowed to do so and get his expenses on the ground. He is able to handle the situation, and that is better than sending an organizer who cannot afford to do so at present. He also voted for publishing the appeal for the support of the lumber handlers of Vancouver."

On the shoe workers' affair Williams advises caution, on the ground that Hickery was quoted by Tobin's position as leader of the shoe workers, and that he is unreliable on that account. But if we are careful there need not be any danger. He also voted to send Thompson into the New England states immediately.

On the Markley matter, Williams suggested to draw up a resolution for submission to the G. E. B. dealing with the facts and showing that a local organizer, while under jurisdiction of a subordinate body is nevertheless accountable for his conduct to the G. E. B. A refusal of Youngtown to subordinate itself to the G. E. B. must mean expulsion and reorganization. On the assessment matter he voted in the affirmative.

Ex-Board Member Heslewood, in his

replies to questions submitted, insisted that the Ionaoph resolution be published in The Bulletin. He suggested also that every secretary of the W. F. M. locals be supplied with a copy of The Industrial Union Bulletin every week. On the Markley matter he demands more facts, so as to pass judgment on the case. His comments are as follows:

"One thing is sure, and that is, that we cannot have locals work contrary to rules established at general headquarters."

Heslewood voted in favor of sending Thompson immediately to the New England states, but not at the expense of headquarters.

Ex-Board Member Cole voted "Yes" on the matter of assessment. His comments are as follows: "I think that the members of the I. W. W. that will not pay this assessment are no good to this or any other organization. It is not a matter of three months is not exorbitant, and at the same time will put the organizers all in the field again."

The general secretary-treasurer, upon the request of the Industrial Council of New York City, submitted to the members of the G. E. B. the request that a loan of \$5 per week be allowed to that council for the maintenance of an organizer, that he be paid as a traveling agent, or that the organization would be established on a firmer footing. Action on this request has been deferred until the general conditions are improved.

On October 27th the general secretary-treasurer submitted to the members of the G. E. B. the following communications, with copies of documents received, one of them being a communication from W. R. Fox to the members of the G. E. B. It is necessary to give your opinion on this matter, as the matter of the locals on the right, and owing to the general import of the subject matter, the answers will also be published in The Bulletin.

Enclosed find a communication from W. R. Fox to the members of the G. E. B. It is necessary to give your opinion on this matter, as the matter of the locals on the right, and owing to the general import of the subject matter, the answers will also be published in The Bulletin.

A rule should be adopted that whenever there are not less than fifteen workers of a given industry in a mixed local that they must form an industrial union. As reasons, I hold that these fifteen men in a given industry, by being in constant touch with the fellow workers in a shop, can do on a more systematic propaganda, and induce other workers to join quicker than if they would advocate the joining of a mixed local. And in many of these mixed locals, there is so much disagreement that new recruits, who are just getting an idea of what the I. W. W. are organizing for, are rather driven away than induced to remain members of the organization and put their activity and energy into the work of the organization.

Another letter is from Los Angeles, Calif., an appeal of members of Local No. 12. You will find by analyzing the communication that things have developed in that local as they will develop in any mixed organization if the rules as suggested are not strictly observed or enforced by an order of the G. E. B. Los Angeles has a flourishing mixed local, but in that local were sufficient men and women to form unions in a different industry, and if that would have been done, we would have perhaps four times as many members as are today in a mixed organization, in which internal strife is bound to disintegrate the union if the proper remedy is not applied.

I would therefore ask you to give your opinion, so that I can formulate a clause covering such matters, and inform all mixed locals accordingly.

I wish to report that the following charters were received during the last two weeks, and charters and supplies have been sent on:

Silk Workers' Ind. Union, Lancaster, Pa.  
Metal and Machinery Workers' Ind. Union, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Industrial Workers' Union, Katala, Kayak District, Alaska.  
Leather Workers' Ind. Union, Cincinnati, O.  
Clothing Workers' Ind. Union, Paterson, N. J.  
Public Service Workers' Union, Hingham, Minn.  
Quilt Workers' Ind. Union, New York, N. Y.  
Umbrella and Cane Workers' Ind. Union, New York, N. Y.  
Ind. Workers' Union (Hungarian), Philadelphia, Pa.  
Public Service Workers' Ind. Union, Chisholm, Minn.  
Bakery Workers' Industrial (re-affiliated), Rutte, Mont.

The members of the G. E. B. voted 4 to 1 for the levying of the assessment, and I immediately sent the call out to the various locals, and it seems to meet with universal approval.

Fellow Worker Heslewood is leaving tomorrow for Montana, and I have advanced to J. P. Thompson enough money to get to the New England states and start his work as the second conference of the unions will be held on November 3d.

Expressions on Tactics and Discipline referred to G. E. B. by W. R. Fox:

"Four false ideas, extensively promulgated for the past two years, have been a hindrance to the progress of the Industrial Workers of the World in this city. These false ideas are:

"First. That the I. W. W. advocated direct force only."

"Second. That we should place our main reliance for the present on the mixed local and not endeavor to form industrial locals."

"Third. That I. W. W. locals are forced by revolutionary principles to affiliate to their sessions everybody who

may wish to enter, even though these may be capitalists and known enemies. "Fourth. That all visitors bearing I. W. W. cards have a peremptory right to the floor at the sessions of the I. W. W. locals they are visiting, and that they deny the floor to such visitors is a breach of revolutionary principle."

"In opposition to the above I answered:

"First. That I stood by the preamble in the full spirit of all its clauses. "Second. That we can never become a factor in the struggle until we get out of the mixed local. We are not complete as industrial workers until we are organized into industrial locals. To advise an industrial local, no matter how small it may be, to retreat into a mixed local is the same as advising it to abandon its industry to the enemy."

"Third. To claim that an industrial local, during its business sessions, is not required by revolutionary principles to throw its doors open to the general public. That is only a question of tactics, and not of principle. A local that stands by the preamble and obeys the constitution is just as good behind a shut door as before an open one."

"Fourth. I claim that visiting members (except they come as authorized committees or as representatives from general headquarters) may be debarred from participating in the business at the sessions of an industrial local, without prejudice to the local, and often with much advantage to the same."

"I submit this statement to the combined locals of Cincinnati and shall at once forward a copy of it to the General Executive Board at Chicago, that they stand on such matters may be definitely known."

"(Note.—First error finally rooted out in Cincinnati; the others yet have adherents.)"

Answer of Ex-Member Fred Heslewood:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 4, 1907."

"Mr. W. E. Trautmann,

"Chicago, Ill."

"Fellow Worker.—In passing opinion

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 4, 1907."

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on the propositions submitted to the members of the G. E. B. for the last week I wish to vote in favor of a rule that would require the formation of an industrial union where there are fifteen active, paid-up members in the mixed local that could carry on the work of an industrial local, providing that the formation of the industrial union would not destroy the mixed local.

"On the second proposition of opening the columns of The Bulletin for further discussion on the preamble, I am naturally opposed. If any member of the Industrial Workers of the World cannot understand the preamble by this time, it would appear to me that they are very obtuse. A great part of the last convention was consumed in discussing the preamble, and resulted in a great loss of money to the organization in getting the speeches out stenographically. The same thing occurred in the Denver convention of the W. F. M. Anything that anyone does not understand about the preamble, and the understanding of those who wish to further discuss the matter would refer to these stenographic reports. I believe in pursuing the same policy as is submitted by the fellow workers in pursuing any other tactics are not true men to the work of building up the I. W. W. The convention decided, after several days' discussion, to leave the preamble intact, and in view of this fact I believe that further discussion on a matter that has been thrashed out in a fizzle and settled can result in nothing but dissension and turmoil. If many of our members were as good at rustling new subscriptions for their official organ, The Industrial Union Bulletin, and trying to increase our membership, it would reflect greater credit on them than continually chewing the rag about the preamble. Let us bear in mind that votes without the economic organization will amount to nothing, so let us concentrate our efforts to building up a great industrial organization that will then be able to look after the ballots."

"Fred W. Heslewood, Member of the G. E. B."

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 4, 1907."

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## OUR BOOK LIST

Below we give a partial list of books which we are prepared to supply to readers of this paper. As will be seen the list contains many of the books with the contents of which Industrial Unionists should be familiar. They range from light, but instructive pamphlets, to the scientific and philosophical works of Labriola, Morgan and Marx. Any book in the list will be sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, and we ask all members of the organization and readers of this paper to order their books from us.

## REMIT PRICE WITH YOUR ORDER

Capital, Volume I. <i>Marx</i> .....	\$2.00
Capital, Volume II. <i>Marx</i> .....	2.00
The Ancient Lowly, Volume I. <i>Ward</i> .....	2.00
The Ancient Lowly, Volume II. <i>Ward</i> .....	2.00
Ancient Society. <i>Morgan</i> .....	1.50
Economic Foundations of Society. <i>Labriola</i> .....	1.25
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History. <i>Labriola</i> .....	1.00
Socialism and Philosophy. <i>Labriola</i> .....	1.00
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism. <i>Engels</i> .....	1.00
The Evolution of Property. <i>La Farber</i> .....	1.00
Revolution and Counter-Revolution. <i>Marx</i> .....	1.00
Woman Under Socialism. <i>Bebel</i> .....	1.00
The Iron Trail. <i>Eugene Sue</i> .....	.75
History of a Protestant Family. <i>Eugene Sue</i> .....	.75
The Silver Cross. <i>Sue</i> .....	.50
The Golden Sicily. <i>Sue</i> .....	.50
Aristotle's Essays.....	.50
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Human Pillars of Society.....	.50
Plato's Republic.....	.50
Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. <i>Engels</i> .....	.50
The Social Revolution. <i>Kautsky</i> .....	.50
Collectivism and Industrial Evolution. <i>Vandervelde</i> .....	.50
The Origin of the Family. <i>Engels</i> .....	.50
Edison and the Materialistic Conception of History. <i>Kautsky</i> .....	.50
Positive School of Criminology. <i>Ferri</i> .....	.50
The Civil War in France. <i>Marx</i> .....	.50
Communist Manifesto. <i>Marx and Engels</i> .....	.50
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The Franchise of the I. W. W. <i>De Leon</i> .....	.50
Reform or Revolution. <i>De Leon</i> .....	.50
The Burning Question of Trade Unionism. <i>De Leon</i> .....	.50
Our Win Struggle. <i>De Leon</i> .....	.50
Industrial Unionism. <i>Debs</i> .....	.50

## PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Daniel DeLeon in "The Daily People"

The continent of Europe has been frequently charged with lack of "political life." If pure and simple physical force had had a delegation at Stuttgart, they might have added that European parliamentary activity, besides having proved itself barren of results for the benefit of labor, has not done to the parliamentarians themselves any good. It has not even trained them in the elements of parliamentary practice. The general charge is, the specific charge would have been justified.

"Parliamentary practice" is not "trickery." There are folks who have the habit of attempting to conceal their ignorance on things they ought to know with an affection of contempt for such knowledge. Anyone at all active in the labor movement is familiar with the species here at home. They consist of a heterogeneous element—frayed "intellectuals" and morally "slum proletarians." If, for instance, an economic or sociologic principle is advanced that happens to take the plug from under some of their pet schemes, or that is beyond the weak grasp of their intellects, forthwith, although charlatan-like they may have assumed the airs of vast erudition on the subject, they give the information wholly superfluous in the case, that they are not "professors." Similarly, if their intrigues are shattered by parliamentary tactics they contemptuously declare they are not experts at "parliamentary trickery." The I. W. W. convention of 1906, where the long-plotted schemes which the reactionists sought to force upon the organization, were baffled by parliamentary moves that disconnected the intrigues, presented copious illustrations of both instances, as the stenographic report of that memorable gathering reveals. "Parliamentary practice" is a code of methods that experience has found to be useful and necessary in order to ascertain the will of a gathering as clearly as possible, and with the least possible delay or friction. To a great extent "parliamentary practice" consists of conventionalities, but even including these, "there is a reason" as the recent slang phrase goes. It goes without saying that familiarity with the reason for parliamentary methods is promoted by the political life of a people, or retarded by lack of the same. Here in America, a display of blundering ignorance on parliamentary elements, or of clumsiness in their application, denotes unfitness; while gross violation of parliamentary elements denotes moral uncleanness. The active political life of the land has popularized parliamentary practice—a great boon, in that it makes possible the organizing into intelligent active forces what otherwise would be mind-mobs. Not so in Europe. How torpid political life is there among the masses, as a whole, is exemplified by the parliamentary crudities that even our Socialist comrades who are members of parliaments incur almost continuously at the international gathering. Here are two illustrations.

Ansele, a member of the Socialist parliamentary group in Belgium, was the chairman of the committee on trades unionism. The Baer (Austrian) resolution was the first presented. Amendments thereto—the I. W. W.-S. L. P. American resolution included in that number. One after another the amendments were either dropped or incorporated in the original motion with the house of the mover, until the Baer resolution became what I called it, an omnibus bill. The exception was the I. W. W.-S. L. P. amendment. It declined to have itself dropped, and the mover of the original motion declined to incorporate it. Thus, there remained nothing before the house but the Austrian motion and the American amendment thereto. Parliamentary practice orders an amendment to be put first; if last, then the original motion, or if the amendment is carried, then the "original motion as amended." The reason is sound. It is a method essential to the ascertaining of "the exact sense of the house." Any other method, such, for instance, as putting the original motion first and the amendment afterwards; or, in case the original motion carries, not putting the amendment at all—any such method would fail to ascertain the exact sense of the house. It would fail to afford the house the opportunity to express itself in detail, as well as in whole. Any such method would tend to suppress rather than to bring out the sense of the house. Ansele proceeded to put the original motion first, and seeing the original motion was certain to go through, his theory was that there would be no necessity of afterwards putting the amendment to a vote. Kautsky evidently shared the mistaken view. It was with difficulty that I, backed by the outcry of several other delegates, succeeded in bringing him over to my view sufficiently to take a vote on the I. W. W.-S. L. P. amendment also, and thus enable the American resolution to secure a substantive expression of opinion. But, so imperfectly did he understand the parliamentary principle for which I contended that he put the card before the house—piled the house on the original motion first, then on the amendment.

The second instance involved a similar principle, concerning the identical subject, the difference being the theater of operations—the International Congress, with Singer, a Reichstag veteran, in the chair. The I. W. W.-S. L. P. resolution, now a minority report, was treated as such only in the presentation of the same before the house. It was impossible to make Singer, with whom I argued extensively on the subject, see the point. His sole, and to him sufficient, parliamentary argument was that the majority report would undoubtedly carry with an overwhelming majority (überwältigende majorität). He gave no heed to the reasoning concerning the propriety of voting first on the minority report of a committee. Thus the only substantive expression on the American resolution was secured in the committee. At the full Congress a direct vote was taken only on the majority report.

Such "parliamentarism" as that of Ansele and Singer, if undertaken here in America, would justify the charge of chicanery—an attempt to prevent a poll upon an unpalatable proposition—a maneuver to suppress, instead of affording full swing to the sense of the house, which implies a proper respect to

the rights of minority views. In the instances of Ansele and Singer nothing was further from their minds than any such indecorous purpose. Their honesty of purpose was transparent. They simply did not know better. Well it will be for them to learn—and they will, with the inevitable increase of political life on continental Europe.

### Trades Unionism vs. Industrial Unionism

**I. TRADE UNIONISM.**  
The trade unions at their inception were called by the master class a conspiracy against law and order. So the workers, in order that they might organize for better conditions, organized under the cloak of provident societies. Under this guise, then, they became fighting organizations.

The function of a trade union was to organize the members of a particular trade or craft into one union, irrespective of the other trades or crafts. The master at that time used to carry on a certain craft or trade. The workers, therefore, organized according to this trade or craft, and were enabled by this form of organization to enforce certain demands from the masters. The consequence of this was that the master was generally crippled.

The workers still organize in the same way, that is, by the trade unions, but the capitalist, instead of employing the members of one trade only, employed the members of different trades.

When a union strikes nowadays it cannot stop production as its ancestor could, because the other unions stay in and carry on production, and help to break one another's strikes by scabbing on one another. How?

1. By working with scab labor.
2. By taking the place of the strikers.
3. By working with material produced elsewhere.

Suppose one of the unions to come out on strike and the other, then, the consequence will be that the union on strike will have its strike broken. This is how the workers are organized by trade unions. With the introduction of machinery and the subdivision of labor which is going on at the present time, the skilled workers are being gradually replaced by the unskilled. This replacing of skilled by unskilled workers makes the apprentice system of no earthly use, because of the ease with which a certain job can be learned.

The unions are gradually deteriorating into close corporations:

1. By charging enormous initiation fees;
2. By limiting the number of apprentices;
3. By allowing into the union only those for whom there is jobs, and keeping out the rest.

In the case of a strike it is those very members who they have kept out of the unions that scab upon them.

Trade unions organize for a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and by so doing they recognize capitalism as a permanency. Trade unions merely act as a brake to the downward movement of the chariot of labor, instead of reversing the motion to uplifting the workers. They are merely provident societies under the cloak of fighting organizations, more being thought of the president part than the fighting part.

I do not think any man is against providing for the future; but when a union enmeshes itself with something which tends to fasten its funds into a knot, so that it cannot strike when it wants, then I think it has become a nuisance to the working class.

**II. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.**  
This is a form of unionism which seeks to organize the workers according to their industries, and not according to trades. Take the building industry, for instance. Here we have a number of crafts which are necessary for the erection and completion of buildings—bricklayers, slaters, masons, plasterers, glaziers, plumbers and joiners. Under trade unionism, all these would be organized separately, according to their crafts. Industrial Unionism, however, would organize all these different crafts into one department, which department would be a part of one union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

There would be other departments besides that of building, such as food supply department, metal department, transportation department, etc. All the different departments would send men from their ranks to form an executive, whose duty it would be to use the force of the organization to its best advantage, and to educate and drill the workers to take over the means of production, transportation, etc., when the capitalist system has been overthrown by the organized workers.

The industrialist recognizes that capitalism is breaking down, and in order to save the means of production for the future society, he seeks to organize the workers to take and hold them, and carry on production for use, and not, as at present, for profit.

The industrialist recognizes that the interests of capitalists and workers are opposite, and not identical. The industrialist recognizes that the interests of one worker are the same as that of all others; consequently, he recognizes that an injury to one worker is therefore an injury to all workers, no matter who or what the worker may be.

If the capitalist should at any time inflict an injury on one of the workers, then the whole department will come out on strike to secure redress; and, if that is not sufficient, then the whole Industrial Union will come out. In the organizing of the workers, not only will those be organized for whom there are jobs, but also those who are unemployed. The Industrial Union will try to bring into the industries as much as possible of this unemployed mass by cutting down the hours of labor to the lowest possible minimum.—J. W. M., in Edinburgh Socialist.

## FOR THE LIBERATION OF PRESTON AND SMITH

Over twenty months have passed since the day when the Mine Owners' Association of the West, supported by the agents of a capitalist government, and backed up by the whole capitalist class of America, started to carry out the nefarious designs, in an attempt to railroad members of the working class to the gallows, or to bury others for life time behind the walls of the capitalist dungeons.

The working class rose in numbers, and in a mighty response to the call: "Shall our brothers be murdered?" they gave to the powers that be the warning to beware! The conspiracy was finally broken; the plot failed in its execution.

Haywood has been honorably acquitted, Moyer is out on bail, and we feel that Pettibone will soon walk out of prison a free man again, exonerated and vindicated.

The powerful efforts of the workers were crowned with success! Again, the curtain has dropped over another scene enacted by the masters of this land. Vincent St. John and seven associates, who were held in Nevada for conspiracy, thrown into jail, and later released under heavy bonds, are freed once more from the clutches of the persecutors; the cases against them had to be dismissed at the request of the "prosecuting attorney" another proof that the capitalist conspirators thought they could take the workers by surprise and throw and keep these men in prison on trumped-up charges.

In behalf of the organization which first issued the call for united action in these emergency cases, we wish to thank all those who felt that it was the supreme task of the working class to force the exposure of the abominable outrages perpetrated by the capitalist class organizations of the West against the organizations of labor and their spokesmen.

One organization of workers especially deserves to be given credit for the great and noble support rendered in this cause. That is "The Universal Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society of America." Not only did the members of that organization contribute liberally to the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Fund, but when the appeal was issued in behalf of Preston, Smith, St. John and associates, that organization was the first one to give support and aid in the defense of our fellow workers.

But two men are still languishing in jail in Nevada, as innocent as those against whom the state had to drop the cases: W. R. Preston, sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment, and Joseph Smith, condemned to ten years on perjured testimony of members and tools of the Citizens' Alliance of Goldfield, Nevada.

We know that these two men will be set free, if a new trial be granted. We know they will be exonerated even in the court, although they are exonerated in the eyes of their fellow men and women of the working class.

Fellow Workers, come to the rescue again! Take the matter up in the meeting of your organization, and take action on this appeal. Write to the Court of Appeals in Nevada, demanding that a new trial be granted; or that both victims of the hatred of the Citizens' Alliance be set free. If you wish to support financially, mail all contributions Preston-Smith Defense Committee, Drawer O, Goldfield, Nevada.

### Historic Review of Shoeworkers Organizations

(Continued from first page)

of another set of workers more than enough to compensate for the increase in the cost of living. Thus making labor pay the freight? Do not lose sight of the fact that in those days capitalism had not evolved to the development of today. In those days the Keiths, Douglases, Browns, Shoe Companies and other large plants were either small concerns or unheard of. The specialization of labor was then in its infancy compared with today. Much of the work was then done by the hand shops, and the manufacturers were poor as compared with today. Most any union could win something in those times.

Since then everything has changed, except the pure and simple union, and other that has changed it has been for the worse.

For all these and many other reasons which I might advance, I say secede into another union. But do not start another union, but be as bad as the one left behind. That would be nonsense. Turn over a new leaf and organize on Industrial lines. Throw overboard the old style craft unions and organize this way.

The industrial form of unions says: "That between the employing class and the working class there is nothing in common." That the present struggle will go on until the workers can get together on the economic field and prepare to take and hold that which they produce by their labor, at which time they will have become strong enough to do away with the causes of the struggle, and the workers will be the owners of the tools of production and the class who owns nothing but its labor power."

Guided by such knowledge and acting on the principle of "an injury to one is the concern of all workers," with an honest, well-informed membership, the industrial form of organization is assuredly the best and most effective yet devised, not only for carrying out the historic mission of the working class, but for the forcing of immediate concessions by reason of the greater solidarity which it inspires amongst the workers in all industries.

It knows that the only way to meet the "open shop" is with the "open union." So it seeks to organize the entire working class, and it does so on lines that are in harmony with the capitalist development of the 20th century.

It is mindful of the fact that the plan of organization of the workers must be in accordance with the plans which the employers have adopted for the exploiting of labor.

In fact, it is using the capitalists' own statistics, published for their information and guidance in the U. S. Census Reports, wherein we find the industries and groups of industries enumerated and classified, thus furnishing us with a correct guide for the building of a working class industrial union, competent and powerful enough to not only temporarily compel the granting of better conditions, but finally to take and hold to operate and conduct the industries for our collective benefit without any stockholding class controlling our means of life and robbing us of four-fifths of the product of our labor.

Were it not possible for us to find something better than we have, I would say, "Stay where you are—one pure and simple union is as good as another." Tobin is what pure and simple union has made him. His successor will be the same. No movement, be it moral or

otherwise, can ever rise higher than the intellectual level of the men who make it. It is for us to say what that level shall be, high or low. But one thing is as certain as the rising of the sun—that is, the level will be no higher while the shoemakers permit themselves to be flim-flamed by Tobin or any other pure and simple misleader of labor, whom the late Mark Hanna was wont to call "My trusted labor lieutenants." And Mark knew them for what they are.

Two alternatives confront the shoeworkers—secession, followed by the building of a movement in harmony with the spirit of the age, or stay with Tobin and be bound by the "sacred contract" until you and yours are reduced to the level of Mexican peons or Asiatic coolies. You must go one way or the other. There is no "middle of the road" to this. Which way will you go?

"INDUSTRIALIST."

### The Trackman's Lot

A section man writes the following letter to "The Trackman," published by the National Union of Railway Trackmen:

"I have been working as a laborer on the Chicago Great Western Railroad for a year and a half at \$1.50 per day. This is, I get \$1.50 a day for eight months of the year; then, during the four winter months I am allowed to hunt or fish, or do whatever I like best, as there is nothing for me on the tracks.

"Now, I would like to have somebody tell me how a man can lay up any money under such conditions. The only reason I am able to stay on the road at all is because my brother borrows me for \$10 a month; and as he loses \$5 a month on me at that, I don't see why he doesn't kick me out. Under these circumstances, I wonder how they can get any section men. It isn't the foreman's fault, for they are all treated alike, without authority to hire men enough for the work at living wages.

"I used to work on the section in the south. Then I tried the north for awhile; but it was just like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire."

A circular in behalf of Preston and Smith, now confined in the Nevada penitentiary, has been sent out from the general headquarters and will be in the hands of local secretaries by the time this issue of The Bulletin is in the mails. We hope that members of the W. F. of M. will see to it that the circular is read in their meetings and substantial response made to the appeal. The circular also appears in this paper.

On March 19 Fellow Worker G. Anderson, Hoquiam, Wash., contributed \$10.00 to the voluntary fund, which he says has not appeared in the printed list in THE BULLETIN. The list had not been started in the paper at that time, but the contribution was acknowledged direct, as contributions from other parties were before August 3, when the list was started. We gladly recall and acknowledge the contribution of Fellow Worker Anderson now.

25c. and 50c.

Sub. Cards now ready for distribution and sale. Use blank form on

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## PREAMBLE OF THE I. W. W.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

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